# PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS

A Political Science Public Sphere



https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592722002900

MARCH 2023 | VOLUME 21 | NUMBER 1

## AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION



<u>APSA Preprints</u> is a free prepublication platform for early research outputs in political science and related disciplines.



- Obtain a DOI
- Comment on papers
- Track metrics & share on social media
- Rapid turnaround (3-5 days)
- Prepare your paper for peer review
- Free to post and browse

Upload your 2022 Annual Meeting paper today!

Submit the latest version of your preprint directly to a journal!

Visit <u>preprints.apsanet.org</u> to learn more

### Philosophy of Perspectives on Politics

*Perspectives* seeks to nurture a political science public sphere, publicizing important scholarly topics, ideas, and innovations, linking scholarly authors and readers, and promoting broad reflexive discussion among political scientists about the work that we do and why this work matters.

A full-length copy of the journal's editorial philosophy appears in *Perspectives on Politics* 8(1): 7–10 and also on the web at https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions.

#### Submission and Review

For submission guidelines, please see https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions. Our editorial team discusses all submissions. Those that seem promising are evaluated by several external reviewers—with full confidentiality on both sides—and then accepted, returned for further revisions, or declined with suggestions of more appropriate venues for publication.

## **Perspectives on Politics**

#### Editor

Michael Bernhard, University of Florida, 2017-Associate Editor and Book Review Editor Daniel I. O'Neill, University of Florida, 2017-

Managing Editor Jennifer C. Boylan, University of Florida, 2017-

Assistants to the E	Editor
Stephanie Denardo	Karla Mundim
Graham Gallagher	Kelly Richardson

Editors Emeritus Jeffrey C. Isaac, Indiana University, 2009-2017 James Johnson, University of Rochester, 2005-2008 Jennifer Hochschild, Harvard University, 2002-2005

### Editorial Board

Resat Bayer, Koç University Cristina Beltran, New York University Richard Bensel, Cornell University Ruth Berins Collier, University of California at Berkeley Nancy Bermeo, Oxford University Charli Carpenter, University of Massachusetts, Amherst Simone Chambers, University of California, Irvine Katherine Cramer, University of Wisconsin-Madison Simone Dietrich, University of Geneva Omar Encarnación, Bard College, USA Zsolt Enyedi, Central European University Michael Goodhart, University of Pittsburgh Anna Grzymala-Busse, Stanford University Michael Hanchard, University of Pennsylvania Juliet Hooker, Brown University Jane Junn, University of Southern California Daniel Kapust, University of Wisconsin-Madison Douglas Lemke, Penn State University Julia Lynch, University of Pennsylvania Marc Lynch, George Washington University Samantha Majic, John Jay College, CUNY Kathleen McNamara, Georgetown University John Medearis, University of California, Riverside Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University Melissa Michelson, Menlo College, USA Jørgen Møller, Aarhus University Anja Neundorf, University of Glasgow Daniel Nexon, Georgetown University Erin O'Brien, University of Massachusetts, Boston Michael Leo Owens, Emory University Christopher Parker, University of Washington Andrew Sabl, University of Toronto Ed Schatz, University of Toronto John W. Schiemann, Fairleigh Dickinson University, USA Dan Slater, University of Michigan Joe Soss, University of Minnesota Paul Staniland, University of Chicago Joan C. Tronto, University of Minnesota Ashutosh Varshney, Brown University Vesla Weaver, Johns Hopkins University Deborah J. Yashar, Princeton University

### CONTACT INFO

Perspectives on Politics Department of Political Science 1507 W. University Avenue PO Box 117325 Anderson Hall University of Florida Gainesville, FL 32611

Perspectives: perspectives@apsanet.org Book Reviews: perspectives-reviews@polisci.ufl.edu

### Association Office Address and Membership Information:

American Political Science Association individual membership dues are as follow: Regular members with income \$200,000+, \$325; \$135,000 -\$199,999, \$276; \$100,000 -\$134,000, \$246; \$80,000 -\$99,999, \$212; \$60,000 -\$79,999, \$191; \$50,000 -\$59,999, \$175; \$40,000 -\$49,999, \$145; less than \$40,000, \$98; Retired members with income \$25,000+, \$66; Retired members with income less than \$25,000, \$40; Targeted international member (TIM), \$45; Life member, \$4,000; K -12 (PS only), \$50; Unemployed members, \$45; Student members, \$52; Associate member with one journal selection, \$75. Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to the APSA membership office at: APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

### Subscription, Publishing, and Advertising Office Address:

Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006; and (for correspondents outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

Subscription Information: Perspectives on Politics (ISSN 1537-5927) is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December, by Cambridge University Press & Assessment, (One Liberty Plaza, 20th floor, New York, NY 10006) for the American Political Science Association. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2023) is US\$1642 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £943 elsewhere. Annual institutional print and electronic subscription rate (2023) is US\$1903 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1080 elsewhere. Perspectives on Politics is sold only as part of a joint subscription with the American Political Science Review and PS: Political Science & Politics. Single part rate (2023) is US\$213 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £121. elsewhere. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices Postmaster: Send address changes to Perspectives on Politics, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, U.S.A.

© American Political Science Association 2023.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Policies, request forms, and contacts are available from: http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/ permission.htm

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from the Copyright Clearance Center, http://www.copyright.com, email: info@copyright.com.

Advertising: *Perspectives on Politics* has a circulation of 16,000. For information on advertising rates and mechanical requirements, contact Advertising Coordinator, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006. (212) 337-5000.

Composition: Straive.

Printing and Distribution: The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA.

## ABOUT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA)



Founded in 1903, the American Political Science Association (APSA) is the leading professional organization for the study of political science and serves more than 11,000 members in over 100 countries. With a range of programs and services for individuals, departments, and institutions, APSA brings together political scientists from all fields of inquiry, regions, and occupational endeavors within and outside academe in order to deepen our understanding of politics, democracy, and citizenship throughout the world. The direct advancement of knowledge is at the core of APSA activities. We promote scholarly communication in political science through a variety of initiatives including publishing four distinguished journals: *American Political Science Review, Perspectives on Politics, PS: Political Science & Politics,* and the *Journal of Political Science Education.* 



PRESIDENT John Ishiyama University of North Texas

VICE-PRESIDENTS Amrita Basu Amherst College

Juan Carlos Huerta Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi

Mark E. Warren University of British Columbia PRESIDENT-ELECT Lisa Martin University of Wisconsin, Madison

PAST PRESIDENT Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier Ohio State University **TREASURER** David Lublin American University

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR Steven Rathgeb Smith

## COUNCIL

**2019–2022** Ben Ansell University of Oxford

Erik Bleich Middlebury College

Alexandra Filindra University of Illinois at Chicago

Rebecca Gill University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Soo Yeon Kim National University of Singapore

David Leal University of Texas, Austin

Suzanna Linn Penn State University

Melanye Price Prairie View A&M University

American Political Science Association 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036 202-483-2512 | <u>www.apsanet.org</u> 2020–2023 Menna Demessie Congressional Black Caucus Foundation

Terry L. Gilmour Midland College

Catherine Guisan University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Nancy J. Hirschmann University of Pennsylvania

Nahomi Ichino Emory University

Tamara Metz Reed College

Ido Oren University of Florida

Jillian Schwedler Hunter College **2021–2024** Khalilah L. Brown-Dean Quinnipiac University

Scott Desposato University of California, San Diego

Raymond Foxworth First Nations Development Institute

Terri E. Givens Brighter Higher Ed

Eileen M. Hunt University of Notre Dame

Mary McHugh Merrimack College

Sarah McLaughlin Mitchell University of Iowa

Costas Panagopoulos Northeastern University

### FORMER APSA PRESIDENTS

Frank J. Goodnow Albert Shaw Frederick N. Judson James Bryce A. Lawrence Lowell Woodrow Wilson Simeon E. Baldwin Albert Bushnell Hart W. W. Willoughby John Bassett Moore Ernst Freund Jesse Macy Munroe Smith Henry Jones Ford Paul S. Reinsch Leo S. Rowe William A. Dunning Harry A. Garfield James W. Garner Charles E. Merriam Charles A. Beard William Bennett Munro Jesse S. Reeves John A. Fairlie Benjamin F. Shambaugh Edward S. Corwin William F. Willoughby Isidor Loeb Walter Shepard Francis W Coker Arthur N. Holcombe Thomas Reed Powell Clarence A. Dvkstra Charles Grove Haines Robert C. Brooks Frederic A. Ogg William Anderson Robert E. Cushman Leonard D. White John Gaus Walter F. Dodd Arthur W. MacMahon Henry R. Spencer Quincy Wright James K. Pollock Peter H. Odegard Luther Gulick Pendleton Herring Ralph J. Bunche Charles McKinley Harold D. Lasswell E. E. Schattschneider V. O. Key, Jr. R. Taylor Cole Carl B. Swisher Emmette S. Redford Charles S. Hyneman Charles J. Friedrich

C. Herman Pritchett David B. Truman Gabriel A. Almond Robert A. Dahl Merle Fainsod David Easton Karl W. Deutsch Robert E. Lane Heinz Eulau Robert E. Ward Avery Leiserson Austin Ranney James MacGregor Burns Samuel H. Beer John C. Wahlke Leon D. Epstein Warren E. Miller Charles E. Lindblom Seymour Martin Lipset William H. Riker Philip E. Converse Richard F. Fenno Aaron B. Wildavsky Samuel P. Huntington Kenneth N. Waltz Lucian W. Pve Judith N. Shklar Theodore J. Lowi James Q. Wilson Lucius I Barker Charles O.Jones Sidney Verba Arend Lijphart Elinor Ostrom M. Kent Jennings Matthew Holden, Jr. Robert O. Keohane Robert Jervis Robert D. Putnam Theda Skocpol Susanne Hoeber Rudolph Margaret Levi Ira Katznelson Robert Axelrod Dianne M. Pinderhughes Peter Katzenstein Henry E. Brady Carole Pateman G. Bingham Powell, Jr. Jane Mansbridge John H. Aldrich Rodney E. Hero Jennifer Hochschild David Lake Kathleen Thelen Rogers Smith Paula D. McClain Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier

## **Perspectives on Politics**

March 2023/Vol. 21, No. 1 | American Political Science Association

## Contents

## From the Editors

1 Latin America and Comparative Politics Michael Bernhard, Karla Mundim, and Daniel O'Neill

## Special Section: Las Américas

- Fiddling while Democracy Burns: Partisan Reactions to Weak Democracy in Latin America
   Matthew M. Singer
- 27 Exhaustion, Adversity, and Repression: Emotional Attrition in High-Risk Activism Alejandro M. Peña, Larissa Meier, and Alice M. Nah
- **43** Why Do Clientelist Brokers Go Rogue? Parties, Politicians, and Intermediaries in Mexico **Joy Langston and Rodrigo Castro Cornejo**
- **59** Reforming to Avoid Reform: Strategic Policy Substitution and the Reform Gap in Policing **Yanilda María González**
- **78** Motivation Alignment, Historical Cleavages, and Women's Suffrage in Latin America **Isabel Castillo**
- 94 Territorial Rights for Individuals, States, or *Pueblos*? Answers from Indigenous Land Struggles in Colonial Spanish America
   Paulina Ochoa Espejo

## Articles

- **109** Empire, Popular Sovereignty, and the Problem of Self-and-Other-Determination **Inés Valdez**
- 126 Exit, Voice, Loyalty ... or Deliberate Obstruction? Non-Collective Everyday Resistance under Oppression Stephanie Dornschneider
- Examining Democratic and Republican National Committee Party Branding Activity, 1953–2012
   Boris Heersink

PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS



Brazilian former president (2003–2011) Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva is carried on the shoulders through the crowd of supporters during a gathering outside the metalworkers' union building in Sao Bernardo do Campo, in metropolitan Sao Paulo, Brazil, on November 9, 2019. - Brazil's leftist icon Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva walked free from jail Friday after a year and a half behind bars for corruption following a court ruling that could release thousands of convicts. (Photo by Nelson ALMEIDA / AFP) (Photo by NELSON ALMEIDA/AFP via Getty Images).

- **160** Persuasive and Unpersuasive Critiques of Torture **Ron E. Hassner**
- 174 Pre-Analysis Plans: An Early Stocktaking George K. Ofosu and Daniel N. Posner
- 191 Conducting the Heavenly Chorus: Constituent Contact and Provoked Petitioning in Congress Geoffrey Henderson, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Matto Mildenberger, and Leah C. Stokes
- 209 Vigilantes and the State: Understanding Violence through a Security Assemblages Approach Rebecca Tapscott
- 225 "An Unacceptable Surrender of Fiscal Sovereignty": The Neoliberal Turn to International Tax Arbitration Martin Hearson and Todd N. Tucker

## Reflections

- 241 Raising the Red Flag: Democratic Elitism and the Protests in Chile Matthew Rhodes-Purdy and Fernando Rosenblatt
- 254 Models, Conceptual and Predictive: A Response to Johnson's Models-as-Fables Keith Dowding and Enzo Lenine
- 264 New Directions in Rebel Governance Research Cyanne E. Loyle, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Reyko Huang, and Danielle F. Jung
- 277 Why Do We Speak to Experts? Reviving the Strength of the Expert Interview Method Christian von Soest
- 288 Rewiring Linked Fate: Bringing Back History, Agency, and Power Reuel Rogers and Jae Yeon Kim

## **Book Review Essay**

**302** New and Renewed Approaches to Understanding Chinese Politics Yan Sun

## Critical Dialogues

- **305** Reviews and Responses **Terrence L. Johnson** We Testify with Our Lives: How Religion Transformed Radical Thought from Black Power to Black Lives Matter
- **311** Reviews and Responses Hanan Toukan The Politics of Art: Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy in Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan

### Deva R. Woodly

Reckoning: Black Lives Matter and the Democratic Necessity of Social Movements

## Jillian Schwedler

Protesting Jordan: Geographies of Power and Dissent

317 **Reviews and Responses** Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidnev M. Milkis Joshua N. Zingher What Happened to the Vital Center? Presiden-Political Choice in a Polarized America: How tialism, Populist Revolt, and the Fracturing of Elite Polarization Shapes Mass Behavior America 322 **Reviews and Responses** J. Samuel Barkin and Laura Sjoberg **Richard Ned Lebow** International Relations' Last Synthesis? The Quest for Knowledge in International Relations: How Do We Know? Decoupling Constructivist and Critical Approaches 328 **Reviews and Responses** LaGina Gause Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, and Michelle Oyakawa The Advantage of Disadvantage: Costly Protest and Political Representation for Prisms of the People: Power & Organizing Marginalized Groups in Twenty-First Century America 333 **Reviews and Responses** Theodore M. Lechterman **Emma Saunders-Hastings** The Tyranny of Generosity: Why Philanthropy Private Virtues, Public Vices: Philanthropy Corrupts Our Politics and How We Can Fix It and Democratic Equality 339 **Reviews and Responses Thomas Peak Glenda Sluga** Westphalia from Below: Humanitarian The Invention of International Order: Intervention and the Myth of 1648 Remaking Europe after Napoleon 344 **Reviews and Responses** Corinna Jentzsch **Ches Thurber** Between Mao and Gandhi: The Social Violent Resistance: Militia Formation and

## **Book Reviews**

Civil War in Mozambique

### POLITICAL THEORY

Neil Vallelly, Futilitarianism: Neoliberalism and the Production of Uselessness Quinn Slobodian and Dieter Plehwe (Eds.), Market Civilizations: Neoliberals East and South Review by Benjamin McKean
Hannes Charen, On the Politics of Kinship Review by Rita Koganzon
Ben Jones, Apocalypse without God: Apocalyptic Thought, Ideal Politics, and the Limits of Utopian Hope Review by Charles H. T. Lesch

- 354 **James R. Martel**, Anarchist Prophets: Disappointing Vision and the Power of Collective Sight Review by Loren Goldman
- 356 **Vincent Phillip Muñoz**, Religious Liberty and the American Founding: Natural Rights and the Original Meanings of the First Amendment Religion Clauses
  - Review by Keith E. Whittington
- 358 **Carmen E. Pavel**, *Law Beyond the State: Dynamic Coordination, State Consent, and Binding International Law* Review by Jamie Mayerfeld
- 359 **Pablo Ouziel**, *Democracy Here and Now: The Exemplary Case of Spain* Review by Omar G. Encarnación
- 360 **Julio Montero**, *Human Rights as Human Independence: A Philosophical and Legal Interpretation* Review by Hussein Banai

Roots of Civil Resistance

## AMEDICAN DOLITICS

	RICAN POLITICS
362	Sarah F. Anzia, Local Interests: Politics, Policy, and Interest Groups in US City Governments
363	Review by Jeffrey M. Berry <b>Taylor N. Carlson and Jaime E. Settle,</b> What Goes Without Saying: Navigating Political Discussion in America Review by Ethan C. Busby
364	Jason A. Pierceson, Before Bostock: The Accidental LGBTQ Precedent of Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins Review by Courtenay W. Daum
366	Jane L. Sumner, The Cost of Doing Politics: How Partisanship and Public Opinion Shape Corporate Influence Review by John G. Matsusaka
367	Patrick R. O'Brien, Presidential Control over Administration: A New Historical Analysis of Public Finance Policymaking, 1929–2018 Review by John T. Woolley
368	Charles S. Bullock III, Susan A. MacManus, Jeremy D. Mayer, and Mark J. Rozell, African American Statewide Candidates in the New South Review by Paru Shah
370	William J. Novak, New Democracy: The Creation of the Modern American State Review by Christopher Howard
371	Gene Zubovich, Before the Religious Right: Liberal Protestants, Human Rights, and the Polarization of the United States Review by Jeremiah J. Castle
373	Tabitha Bonilla, The Importance of Campaign Promises Review by Jeffrey D. Grynaviski
374	Catherine N. Wineinger, Gendering the GOP: Intraparty Politics and Republican Women's Representation in Congress Review by Erin C. Cassese
375	Shawn E. Fields, Neighborhood Watch: Policing White Spaces in America Review by Hannah L. Walker
CON	IPARATIVE POLITICS
377	Vinay Sitapati, India before Modi: How the BJP Came to Power
	Christophe Jaffrelot, Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy Review by Maya Tudor
379	<b>Risa J. Toha</b> , <i>Rioting for Representation: Local Ethnic Mobilization in Democratizing Countries</i> Review by Benjamin Smith
380	Steffen Ganghof, Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism: Democratic Design & the Separation of Powers Susan Rose-Ackerman, Democracy and Executive Power: Policymaking Accountability in the US, the UK, Germany, and France
	Patrick Weller, Dennis C. Grube, and R. A. W. Rhodes, Comparing Cabinets: Dilemmas of Collective Government Review by Philipp Köker
383	Nils Hägerdal, Friend or Foe: Militia Intelligence and Ethnic Violence in the Lebanese Civil War Review by Reinoud Leenders
384	H. Zeynep Bulutgil, The Origins of Secular Institutions: Ideas, Timing, and Organization Review by Dan Slater
386	Kristen Ghodsee and Mitchell Orenstein, Taking Stock of Shock: Social Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions Review by Juliet Johnson
387	Kathryn Hochstetler, Political Economies of Energy Transition: Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and South Africa Review by Andy Hira
388	Erin Chung, Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies Review by Michael Strausz
390	Jeremy Horowitz, Multiethnic Democracy: The Logic of Elections and Policymaking in Kenya Review by Donghyun Danny Choi
391	Aurel Croissant and Olli Hellmann, Stateness and Democracy in East Asia Review by Aram Hur
392	Antje Ellermann, The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States Review by Anthony M. Messina
394	Nicole Baerg, Crafting Consensus: Why Central Bankers Change Their Speech and How Speech Changes the Economy Review by Nicolas W. Thompson
INTE	RNATIONAL RELATIONS
395	Etel Solingen, Geopolitics, Supply Chains, and International Relations in East Asia Review by Evelyn Goh
397	Frédéric Mérand, The Political Commissioner: A European Ethnography Review by Didier Georgakakis
200	Simon Exampled Prote Normative Transformation and the War on Tarration: The Evolution of Targated Killing, Tartura and

Simon Frankel Pratt, Normative Transformation and the War on Terrorism: The Evolution of Targeted Killing, Torture, and 399 Private Military Contracting

Review by Lisa Stampnitzky

- 400 **Stéphanie Martel**, *Enacting the Security Community: ASEAN's Never-Ending Story* Review by Alan Collins
- 402 **Isabel Käser**, *The Kurdish Women's Freedom Movement: Gender, Body Politics and Militant Femininities* Review by Güneş Murat Tezcür
- 403 **Raffaella A. Del Sarto**, *Borderlands: Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East* Review by Roberto Roccu
- 405 **Tobias Lenz**, Interorganizational Diffusion in International Relations: Regional Institutions and the Role of the European Union

Review by Theresa Squatrito

- 406 Adam B. Lerner, From the Ashes of History: Collective Trauma and the Making of International Politics Review by Hannah Goozee
- 408 William L. d'Ambruoso, American Torture from the Philippines to Iraq: A Recurring Nightmare Review by Janina Heaphy
- 409 Henriette Müller, Political Leadership and the European Commission Presidency Review by Buket Oztas
- 411 Review Index



Read issues in flipbook format here: https://www.flipsnack.com/politicalsciencetoday/

Or read individual articles here: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/political -science-today

For more information, scan this QR code with your phone camera or go to <u>https://apsanet.org/today</u>!

